(the larger trees). While the men work the women prepare food and the children fish in the neighboring streams. At noon the workers eat, returning to work after *their* meal. After about an hour of work they return to the village. The owner of the *tavy* thanks those who have helped him. The clearing goes on for ten or fifteen days. The trees and brush which have been cut are allowed to dry for twenty to twenty-five days. By the beginning of the month *Volambita* [October] all are dry. At noon the proprietor of the *tavy* takes a dry bamboo, his *kapoaka*, and goes to the field. He strikes a tree trunk lightly with his bamboo and calls out: 'Oh *fahavaloy* [ancestral shades] who live in this neighborhood, go away, for I am about to set fire to the *tavy*. Send away your children, your old people and your blind.' Having said this, he sets fire to the *tavy*. The heat, flame and smoke are enormous. In an hour a *tavy* of twenty hectares will be burned. The fire spreads into the uncut timber and causes great damage to the forest. Some days later the women plant the rice, four to six grains in a hole. The men also lend a hand. With the rice the women plant maize and ground nuts and sow the seeds of plants used as greens. At the beginning of the month *Asaramanitra* [December] they weed the rice, men, women and children working together. After the weeding they gather the maize, which has ripened. A few weeks later the rice begins to ripen and has to be guarded against birds, especially the *fody* [a red bird much like a sparrow] and the *kitrotro* [a little green and yellow parroquet]. This is the beginning of the *vainaivo*, the rice beginning to turn yellow. The man builds on his *tavy* a rice house, called *kombo*. While he is doing this the wife makes *tsoty* le [big baskets], *karvoa* [sacks of soft matting] and *tsoby* [ordinary baskets]. On the morning of a fortunate day the wife goes to the *tavy* and plucks a few heads of rice that are still green. The grains are roasted, hulled and ground. This food is called *lasopo*. The husband takes a little of it on a leaf of *lasopoa* [a broad, smooth leaf often used as a plate] and places it on a flat stone in the *tavy*, speaking as follows: 'Oh *Fahavaloy*, thanks to you the rice is ripe. We offer you the first harvest, for we cannot eat before you do. Take the meal reserved for you. Protect our harvest against wind, hail, locusts and wild pigs.' After this prayer the whole family divides and eats the rest of the *lasopo*. From that moment the rice harvest begins. The rice is cut with *karvina* [reaping knives] by the women, while the men carry. It is placed in baskets which the men carry to the *kombo* on their heads. The children prepare the food. It is at this time that one harvests the ground nuts and greens.

and greens. When the harvest is finished and the rice in the *kombi* the members of the family return to the village. They have been away for five months. The man repairs the *trasoambe* [rice granary] and the rice is brought to it from the *kombi*, the whole village assisting.

"Maize (*tsako*) is cultivated in the whole region and is second to rice. We distinguish a number of varieties: *tsakoala*, *varadaja*, *amboamboritra*, *tsakobiby*, *tsakofotsy*, *tsakodoroka* and *tsakovondra*. Maize is grown in all seasons, but it is during the hot season that it gives the best yield. It is sown in the *tany* at the same time as the rice, or planted in alluvial soil in the valleys. Small holes are made with a pointed stick from 50 to 70 centimeters apart and two or three grains put in each hole. It is ripe three or four months after planting. The maize for the next sowing is put in a dry bamboo filled with ashes to keep the insects from damaging it. That which is to be eaten is put in a dry place over the fire or hung up in the granary. Maize pounded and cooked in water with beans or honey forms an excellent food. We also eat it roasted.

"Beans (*soalilo*) are very common in the region. We distinguish eight species: *soalilokobo*, *soalilosovatra*, *selotompe*, *tsotsakoria*, *mesavana*, *soalilo be*, *soalilosakay*, and *soalilosovasay*. Beans like alluvial soil or the site of an old village. Like maize, they are planted in small holes about 50 centimeters apart, two or three seeds to the hole. They are planted in the month *Sakare* [September] in newly burned ground. The crop is weeded when the plants have three leaves. At the end of the second month they flower and produce pods. At the end of the third month the pods break off and are harvested.

"Manioc (*kazaka*) attains a height of 2 to 3 meters. There are two varieties, *kazaka ala*, which is best, and *dompotry*. It is planted by cuttings, which grow readily, even in very poor soil. It is planted in the month *Sakamasy* [August]. When the ground is ready, holes are made about a meter apart and a cutting put in each hole, care being taken to place it horizontally. It is weeded about forty-five days after planting. At the end of seven months one may begin to gather it. The root is sometimes eaten raw, but is more often boiled or roasted in hot ashes. The root is also preserved by cutting it in pieces and drying it in the sun."

The above account needs to be supplemented in several details. In agriculture by the *tany* method it is necessary to allow the land to lie fallow for from five to ten years between plantings. The growth which springs up during this time consists mostly of bamboo,

1: Linton E-8 (1928-37) 1939 FTS 1 media FTS

243 no taboo against wet rice, but rarely raise it, because of the labor
[173] involved. The Zafimaniry still have a strong taboo against it. According to their own tradition, they were the last of the Merina peoples to settle in the territory. They originally lived in the Ankaratra, a mountainous part of the plateau, and raised wet rice, like the other tribes of this area. Enemies attacked them when their men were dispersed, repairing their rice terraces. They were driven out of their territory and when they re-established themselves, they tabooed wet rice cultivation, which they held responsible for the calamity. The taboo is so strong that when Betsileo immigrants began to cultivate wet rice in their country, some twenty-five or thirty years ago, they broke down the terraces and destroyed the crop.

Tanala wet rice culture is still crude in comparison with that of the plateau tribes. They do not use fertilizer, sow in seed beds, or transplant. Terrace systems are still very rare. The soil of a natural swamp is turned over with spades to a depth of about 1 foot, all but the largest vegetation being dug in. Cattle are then driven back and forth over the plot until the earth is churned to a soft mush. The rice is sown broadcast but not trodden in. Later, the crop is weeded once or twice. The harvest sacrifice is the same as for the ray.

241 In addition to rice and the plants grown in the ray, the Menabe grow bananas, sweet potatoes and sugar cane. None of these are of
245 great economic importance. Bananas are planted in or near the village, often in solitary clumps. The young plants are sometimes fenced to protect them from pigs, but require no other care. The fruit is small and of indifferent quality. It is cut green and hung up over the fireplace, where it soon becomes blackened with smoke. It is allowed to become soft and thoroughly ripe, then eaten raw. The plantain seems to be unknown.

286 The Tanala do not use banana fiber. The Betsileo, their neigh-
171 bors, formerly used it extensively in weaving and raised certain varieties of banana almost exclusively for it. They claim that it was the first material woven by them.

244 Sweet potatoes are grown from the shoots. Bundles of these are planted in holes at intervals of about 2 feet. The ground is not prepared. New patches may be weeded a month or two after planting, but the growth of the vines is so luxuriant that they soon strangle all other vegetation. The plants begin bearing in six to eight months and continue to produce for two or three years, after which the tubers become small and fibrous. The roots are dug a few at a time, as

L: Linton B-6 (1924-27) 1928 FOR Tanala FIN

needed, the digger locating them by prodding the soil with a pointed stick. The patches are small and are always near the village. 244

Sugar cane grows in isolated clumps in or near the villages. I saw no plantations. The stalks are chewed, like candy, and bundles of the leaves are sometimes used as torches. The juice is also extracted by crushing the cane between wooden rollers. This is allowed to ferment and is then drunk as beer or distilled into rum. No sugar or syrup is made. 249

Castor oil plants are often to be seen growing near the villages and a few of them are sometimes planted in the taro. The oil is extracted with a crude press, like that used for honey. It is used in hair dressing and is often a part of charms. Whole beans are also used to make a sort of taper or night light. [254]

Small and extremely hot red peppers are used as a condiment. They grow wild on old village sites and abandoned fields. 263

The Tanala believe that all their crops are indigenous. A very careful investigation failed to reveal any traditions of the introduction of maize, manioc or tobacco. 241 173

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

The Tanala originally had the following domestic animals: dogs (amboha), cattle (omby), goats (lewy), chickens (akoho), and a very large duck with dark plumage and red wattles (dakotra). Sheep, cats, ordinary ducks and geese and turkeys have all been introduced within the historic period, but are of little economic importance. In the drier and less heavily forested parts of the Tanala territory guinea fowl have been semi-domesticated since ancient times. Eggs are taken from the nests of the wild birds and the young hatched and reared by hens. They are fed on a special diet of termite eggs and larvae. Apparently guinea fowl will not breed in captivity and are usually killed as soon as they become full grown. 231

The native dog is almost extinct, due to repeated crossing with other breeds. It stands about 18 inches at the shoulder and is solid yellowish brown or black, with white under parts. The coat is medium long, fine and glossy. The tail is fringed and is carried low. The head is wide between the ears, with a muzzle of medium length and strong jaws. The ears are rather large, pointed, and erect. The animal appears healthy in its movements and rarely barks.

Dogs are used to trail wild pig and to bring the animal to bay so that it can be speared by the hunters. They are never used [229]